Volume XCVIII No. 7 April 20, 1973 40 cents

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VIETNAM

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THE QUESTION OF REHABILITATION AID
EUGENE J. McCARTHY

FROM THE ASHES: PHOENIX
JEFFREY STEIN & MICHAEL T. KLARE

HOW WE BUILT AND LEARNED TO LOVE A CHARNEL HOUSE
EDWARD S. HERMAN

AN UNSTABLE COALITION
JOHN MAHONEY

ACADEMIC AWARDS
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

THE JESUS OF FICTION
SALLIE TeSELLE

WHITE POWER, BLACK CAPITALISM
DENNIS HALE

SHEED & WARD, WITH THANKS
THE EDITORS

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NEWS & VIEWS

'Bless me Father . . .'

Italian churchmen are predictably upset over the secret taping by four sociologists of more than 600 structured "confessions" probing Italian clerical attitudes on sex. Particularly upset: the Italian bishops, who have labeled the project "spiritual banditism"; the Vatican, which has pronounced an excommunication over probers and publishers of the resulting book (*Sex in the Confessional*); and the unwary confessors, who dispensed the advice now so embarrassing to church and themselves.

But the confessions project seems not to be solely the churchmen's dilemma. According to RNS correspondent Father Robert A. Graham, S.J., the project also has secular liberals in something of a stew.

"It so happens that at this time the press is occupied with the scandal of wholesale wire-tapping by private detectives," Graham writes from Rome. "It is difficult to make an issue of this particular form of invasion of privacy without applying the principle also to tape-recordings of what a priest answers in the confessional, unaware that his words are recorded, much less unaware that the confession is simulated . . ."

Keeping up to Date

In the "with-it" Archdiocese of St. Louis, priests have received by mail from Cardinal Carberry two papal documents condemning "Modernism" as "venomous, pernicious and pestilential." The documents are dated 1907.

An accompanying letter suggested that the priests read the documents at their leisure, but at the same time consider them seriously. They might find the documents applicable to some of the problems facing the church today, Cardinal Carberry wrote.

The latter note caught the attention of St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* religion editor James E. Adams. He contacted the Cardinal's secretary and asked, problems such as what?

Father Clarence Deddens said that the Cardinal has no specific issues to which the documents might relate, and added that their mailing had "no particular significance" at this time.

He described that matter as a routine mailing of material on a subject the Cardinal judged would be of interest to St. Louis' 650 archdiocesan and religious-order priests.

Such mailings are frequent, Adams indicated, and range from United Fund notices to copies of *The Penny Catechism*.

Most of the mailings, said Adams, are pamphlets purchased at bulk rate, but for Christmas, 1972, the Cardinal sent a book, *A Heart for All*, "on the topic of devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary and the apparitions of Our Lady of Fatima."

Stalking the Media

How would you like to have a man of these sentiments shaping your news input?:

—". . . An incumbent elite, with an ideological slant unshared by the nation's majority, has acquired absolute control of the most powerful medium of communication known to man. And that elite is using that media monopoly to discredit those with whom it disagrees, and to advance its own ideological objectives —and it is defending that monopoly by beating its several critics over the head with the stick of the First Amendment . . ."

—"Men who are taking an increasingly adversary stance toward the social and political values, mores and traditions of the majority of Americans have also achieved monopoly control of the medium of communication upon which 60 percent of these Americans depend as the primary source of news and information about their government and society . . ."

The paranoia is from a new book published by a Philadelphia bank under the title *The New Majority*. Author is Patrick J. Buchanan, special consultant to the President.

One of Buchanan's principal responsibilities, in case you didn't know, is overseeing the preparation of the White House's daily news summary.

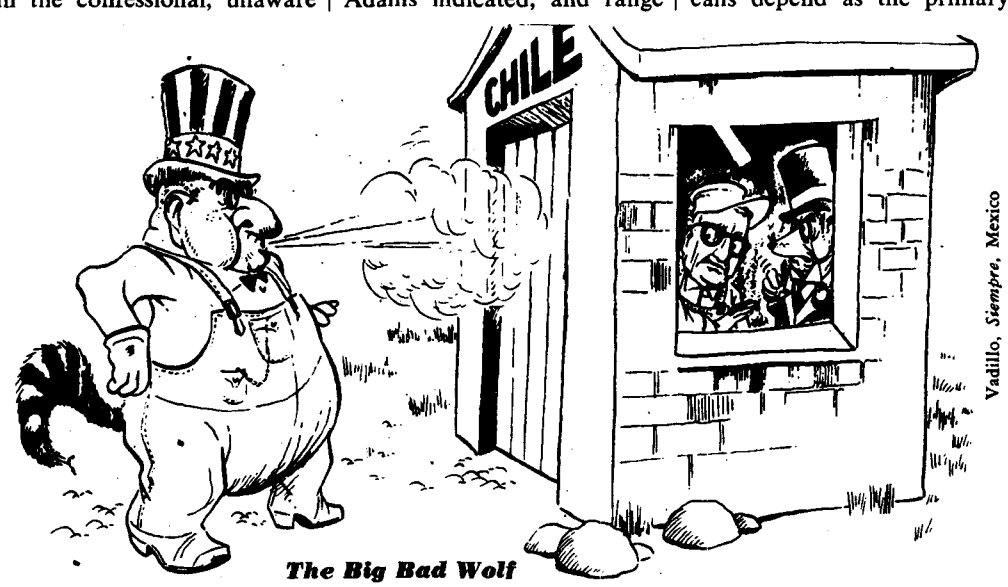
Odds and Ends

—Of $216.2 billion voted by Congress in 1972, 55.5 percent was for military and defense-related purposes, according to the newsletter of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Health, education, housing and welfare came in a poor second at 21.7 percent . . . combined.

—You thought the Indochina war was over? The Defense Department declares that it is planning to spend in the 12 months beginning July 1 at least $4.1 billion for military activities in Southeast Asia. This, in addition to undisclosed sums for military aid to Cambodia and Thailand, and "for security supporting assistance" for South Vietnam and Laos.

—The Catholic War Veterans, Knights of Columbus, Holy Name Society and Bishop Francis J. Mugavero of Brooklyn are lining up behind a God-Day convocation to be held Sept. 15 and 16 at Shea Stadium. Purpose of the event: "to pay homage to God and allegiance to country through a prayer rally and special patriotic observances."

—Liberation News Service offers further examples of the "runaway shop," firms that set up in new areas to exploit cheaper labor markets: "Emerson TV and Radio, Ford-Philco, Zenith and RCA now have factories in Taiwan; Transitron and Kollsman are in Mexico, and the Dodge Colt is made entirely in Japan." JOHN DEEDY



Vadillo, *Siempre*, Mexico

The Big Bad Wolf

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CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Thieu's Jails

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Your March 9 editorial "God Bless America" offers a creative posture towards the people of Vietnam, but with one glaring omission: What will our new attitude be towards the hundreds of thousands of civilian prisoners held in the prisons of South Vietnam?

It is foolish to wonder where the money for reconstruction will be found when our government channels millions of dollars through AID and Pentagon pipelines into the police forces, detention centers, concentration camps and tiger cages of the Saigon regime.

From a political perspective we can expect no stable solution to the governmental chaos in the South as long as the potential forces of reconciliation are held in prison. All factions in the South (pacifists, neutralists, Buddhists, Catholics as well as the PRG) place high priority on the release of their members from General Thieu's jails.

From a humanitarian perspective we cannot afford to compound the misery we have created. Our taxes, manpower and resources are being used for the indiscriminate mass arrests, imprisonment without trial, torture and death which characterize the politically motivated system of "justice" in Saigon.

The tragic plea voiced by Prof. George Wald several years ago still holds true for our involvement in Mr. Thieu's jails: if only we would stop killing somebody.

CHARLES KING
Catholic Peace Fellowship

Classroom Limits

Berkeley, Ca.

To the Editors: Professor McFerran ["The Limits of Confrontation," March 2, 1973] has not really found the limits of confrontation, but the limits of the classroom. First of all, as a self-ad-

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1973 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada: $14 a year. Foreign $16. Single copies 40¢

VIOLENCE AND VICTORY

In Holy Week the Christian community, through its ritual reenactment of the death and resurrection of its founder, gathers strength for its own struggle with the world. It reconsiders the central mystery of Christianity—and, indeed, the basic paradox of human life: the inevitable confrontation between goodness and jealous power, the violent crushing of a good man, and his eventual triumph in a way only his friends can understand. In the Old Testament the book of Wisdom foreshadows the murder of Jesus as the ungodly conspire: "Let us lie in wait for the righteous man, because he is inconvenient to us and opposes our actions . . . he professes to have some knowledge of God . . . the very sight of him is a burden to us, because his manner of life is unlike that of others, and his ways are strange."

The contemporary Christian's ways may seem strange. Like Jesus he has been led away by the Spirit to forge his vocation in the desert, although his desert may be city government, IBM or the assembly line. He has been offered power; and has seen power both cure and kill. He has been drawn toward the "good life" and not always found it good. The Christian is not a tragic clown, a superstar or a Quixotic romantic. He is simply trying to be good. He is simply a believer called by the experience of the gospel to repeat, in his own way, Christ's encounter with darkness, betrayal and victory.

For Jesus the experience of darkness was the growing awareness of opposition to his mission, the visible hardening of the hearts of the religious leaders and the crowds, the realization that he was to be tossed out by the very people whose history he had come to fulfill and whose prophets he would vindicate. Betrayal was the collapse of a friendship, the abuse of a symbol of love and the end of two lives—one by crucifixion, the other by hanging. His own violent death became the fulcrum of history, the unique sin and the norm by which all other sins might be measured: mankind once had Incarnate Love within its grasp and killed it. For Jesus victory came in his vindication, as St. Paul says in Philippians, when God "raised him high" and gave him the "name which is above all names," Christ the Lord.

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For today's Christian, darkness is a heightened aloneness, an alienation from a culture that seems more and more indifferent to the sufferings of its weakest members, more cut off from its own Judeo-Christian roots; it is a grim walk through garbage-strewn streets of the Bronx, the sight of windows smashed and boarded. It is the sound of curses, of bigots trading their slurs.

Betrayal is the mounting evidence that men in the highest public offices, of whom we should have the highest expectations, steal, lie, conspire, spy, defame, and run in fear from the truth. It is, on another level, the erosion of family life, or the feeling that too many religious leaders have become stale bureaucrats and that too many religious communities have grown stagnant and cold.

Violence is the B-52, which will soon replace the bald eagle as our national bird: like the punch-drunk pugilist who keeps swinging after the bell has rung, it now blasts away at the people of Cambodia. Violence is our President's re-infatuation with capital punishment—the Pontius Pilate solution to a social-political problem.

Victory, for the Christian, is the conviction that his brother Jesus, on whom he models his life, is still alive. It is the hope, based on experience and the promises of God, that the struggle against darkness, betrayal and violence can be won.

S. & W.

The biggest news in religious publishing lately is word of the sale of Sheed & Ward, New York, the distinguished book publisher. Purchaser is the Universal Press Syndicate, and the new president and editor-in-chief of the firm is James F. Andrews, formerly with *Ave Maria* and the *National Catholic Reporter*, as well as with Sheed & Ward itself. Although Frank Sheed, now 75, will remain as chairman of the board emeritus and consultant, this is therefore a good time to pay tribute to him and to his wife, Maisie Ward, for their unique contributions to Catholic letters. In addition to the lengthy list of valuable writings by themselves (both have appeared in these pages, we are happy to say), the firm of Sheed & Ward over the years published such notables as G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Ronald Knox, Christopher Dawson, Léon Bloy, François Mauriac, Paul Claudel, Karl Adam, Romano Guardini and a whole joyful litany of others too numerous to mention here. An entire generation, and more than a generation, was nourished on Sheed & Ward material, and for the vitality of those years much credit must go to this never-large but always potent publishing firm. The London house of Sheed & Ward was established in 1926, and the New York branch in 1933—40 years ago. In that time the contribution to American Catholic life by Frank Sheed and Maisie Ward personally and by their publishing house is almost impossible to overestimate, and all of us, in this country and abroad, are in their spiritual and intellectual debt. As we wish Sheed & Ward well under its new management, we are happy to be able to express our gratitude for the rich past.

NEXT WEEK

JOHN TRACY ELLIS writes about the post-Vatican II Catholic university:

"The schizophrenia, so to speak, that at present obtains in most Catholic university communities by reason of the claims made by their dual allegiance to religious faith and to academic autonomy, is, I think, at least partially accountable from a reluctance to face frankly and openly the institution's religious commitment. I may, indeed, be wrong, but somehow I cannot banish the impression that some people fear that such a candid avowal would draw the frowns or ridicule of secular university colleagues, or even of a few aggressive members of their own faculties whose norms of judgment are so largely influenced by what they regard as the accepted practices of secular academic circles."

The Priests' Councils: An Unstable Coalition

They referred to it repeatedly as "The Assembly of Delegates." It was, in fact, the small ballroom of Detroit's Hilton Hotel, the site of the sixth annual convention of the National Federation of Priests' Councils. It was about half as deep as it was wide, and the neatly ordered tables, seating about eight delegates, each, were graced with homemade lettered signs that designated which of the several diocesan councils, senates, or religious congregations the delegates hailed from. The proceedings sounded for all the world like a session of British Parliament. Resolutions, prepared by committee hearings the nights before, came before the assembly to experience small debate, only occasional need for more than a voice vote, and conclude pretty largely with the outcome that the previous night's hearings had foreordained. And what was the outcome?

I wish I knew. One of the obvious problems with parliamentary approach to truth is that there are almost no subjects worthy of debate. When the issues are attitudinal, such as the rights of the poor, little real argument can follow the understanding that the premise involved here is Christ's sense of justice. On stickier issues like amnesty or celibacy (a strange pairing of examples) debate only revealed the fact that the NFPC was an

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unstable and sometimes volatile coalition of opposing groups.

The issue of celibacy is a good illustration. The question before the delegates was whether to approve a resolution from the Committee on the Role of the Priest to authorize and fund a professional survey to learn the laity's reaction, this year, to the prospect of a married clergy. The early first opinion heard from microphones (1, 2, or 3) was that the principle of moderation brought with them by many delegations would be violated. A second voice argued that, since the problem, or question, was not going to soon go away, any kind of public reminder of it, like a survey, would help keep the hope of non-celibacy alive. (One of the few witty remarks of the session suggested that the fact was that the claim, and notation made, for clergy who have married—*propter scandalum fidelibus*—might be shown by the survey to be really *propter scandalum episcopis*). Certain spokesmen could be heard, it seemed, who were arguing the celibacy question personally. There were also mild implications that too forward action on such questions would only lead to secession of one or other of the diocesan "states" represented.

But when it came to a vote, the resolution to survey on celibacy carried. Not by a voice vote, though; a standing vote, recounted once by tellers, passed the resolution 106 yes, 67 no. That proportion was, in fact, the exception. The resolution on the celibacy survey had passed, I supposed, as a surprise to the night-before committees. In most of the other questions, the moderates prevailed over the radicals.

* * *

One wishes he could make some sense out of the embroils in the Church during the past two decades. For the moment, all he has to look at against the backdrop of Vatican II is the conflicting energies of the National Conference of Bishops and this group of priests' organizations called the NFPC. The sixth annual convention of the latter often referred to the former, sometimes to repeat the wistful suggestion that, if the two groups could only meet together, they could work together. Sometimes, too, though, they thought of the NCCB as a monolith which would not be disturbed. That was the struggle, in fact: how to generate enough Federation activity to convince the hierarchy that the priests' groups were real, but to center the activity on comfortable enough issues not to drive the hierarchy further away.

The formal sessions demonstrated that the priests were learning their politics. The coalitions of moderates and radicals were made in the night-before committee hearings. One of the board members described the sessions as ones where the pre-arrangers hoped for enough speeches to underscore the importance of questions, even though the presenting committee's concessions, the motions to table, and what have you, were already in the minutes-to-be. This scenario wasn't always followed. Occasionally, it seemed, some delegate, left out of the hearings, perhaps, sounded as if he took the resolution before the assembly as still open. Then he would return again and again to the microphone to hammer home what seemed to him an obvious point. How could anyone, speaking on the part of moderation, debate the question of the survey of celibacy when resolutions had been passed shortly before that seemed to support married priests?

The fact that voice-votes settled most questions eventually made the parliamentary nature of the sessions clear. If groups threatened to secede, scornful of the toned-down voice that a maturing NFPC had developed in its six years, they would have to do so. The determination of the NFPC to present a responsive image to the bishops was not going to falter. Next resolution.

* * *

Resolutions on the Selection of Bishops and on Study of the Ministry were greeted with motions to table, and were tabled. The work of the night-before was evident again. The committee chairmen who presented the resolution on Selection of Bishops needed instruction from the Chair because he tried to move the non-acceptance of the proposal. Under instruction, he moved the acceptance of the resolution, but added the committee's advice that it should not pass because of the now outdated state of the proposal from the Canon Law Society of America. Then he moved to table his own motion. The whole process took three or four minutes.

Objection was heard, also apparently expected, to the resolution on the Study of the Ministry. In the first place, great numbers of the delegates had not received the document in the mail. In the second, one who had seen it objected to its unscholarly form. Tabled.

Proceedings were set aside to welcome John Cardinal Dearden, who arrived to tell the assembly that he was glad they were there. He urged them to look at troubled days with eyes of hope, and not to underestimate the steps that had been taken by the bishops, particularly the changing of the Committee on Priestly Life from an ad-hoc to a standing committee. The assembly stood when he arrived, and after hearing him assured that cooperation was what NFPC had in mind, they stood when he left.

Before liturgy, they moved to separate the questions in the resolution on Women in the Ministry. To support further role for women, voice-vote Yes. To encourage them to enter ministerial programs, to work to change Church Law on the subject, standing vote, No. Some delegates left their badges on the tables.

JOHN MAHONEY

(John Mahoney, a previous contributor, is dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Detroit).

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EXPLORERS OR EMIGRANTS?

MICHAEL NOVAK

Some years ago, Daniel Callahan observed in *Honesty in the Church* that some Catholics were unconsciously hiding their movement away from Catholicism beneath their efforts to "update" the church. For many more than I would have expected, there seems to have been, indeed, a general fade-out of things Catholic, a steady assimilation into the "mainstream."

One often hears, for example, that the "radicalism" of the Berrigans "saved" someone's faith. Plausible, but questions are raised. Is Catholicism a community composed of all social classes and many political points of view? What does belonging to such a community entail?

Much that goes by the name "prophetic" today seems more related to class interests than to the gospels. Does it seem to others, too, that the conversation of radicals is often characterized by adolescent affront, laziness of diction (perhaps in imitation of those on drugs), unabashed dogmatism? That many Catholic radicals speak with the moral absolutism, political narrowness, and doomsaying simplicities that used to be ascribed to conservative religious superiors?

Have we come a long way since Thomas O'Dea described *The American Catholic Dilemma*, only to find we have not come very far at all?

It is amazing how many of "the best and the brightest" among those Catholics who are now writers or editors or television correspondents had no contact with a generous, inquiring Catholicism in their formative years. Stories of "repressive" life in the ghetto (sad, funny, and true enough) are beginning to sound like those confessions of past unworthiness required for social rehabilitation.

What is it that constitutes "enlightenment"? And when one attains it, what has one attained and was it worth it? What has one had to deny?

Once upon a time, we looked forward to the "Americanization" of Catholics. Now that it has been occurring, can we be accused of naiveté in what we expected might happen? Perhaps we did not heed with sufficient imagination Christopher Dawson's argument that Catholic Christianity is a kind of "culture." Perhaps Catholicism must be carried forward as a strong, centered culture or else lose both its social and cultural enfleshment and its soul. Perhaps it cannot survive on the model of a voluntary association, atomic and associative.

Is Notre Dame now a Catholic university in any serious meaning of the term? Has there emanated therefrom, or from anywhere, a model of how to maintain a Catholic community that is as Catholic as it is American?

Perhaps in accepting the radical individualism of the process of Americanization—each human being "assimilating" one by one into the superculture—we have forfeited the incarnate reality of community without which Catholicism is disembodied and weightless. A community of rich and various sociology, bearing historical scars and concrete social needs.

The America of the informed and the enlightened is no longer as bitterly anti-Catholic as it was before Pope John XXIII and John F. Kennedy. But it is not even-handed. When Daniel Callahan writes on abortion, *The New York Times* invariably describes him as *"Catholic* philosopher Daniel Callahan." Others in such debates are never identified as a "Jewish" or "Baptist" or "agnostic" philosophers.

On March 30, two stories in the *Times* noted that there were strong protests by Jewish rabbis and Jewish groups, and that the series "Bridget and Bernie" and the documentary "Jews for Jesus" were being withdrawn from presentation. Had two such programs been protested by Cardinal Cooke or the American bishops, and then canceled, what cries of "censorship" we might have heard. That *every* group in America sometimes practices censorship is no doubt true and often legitimate. A double standard is used in public reaction.

The more one sees the way social establishments actually work in America, the more one admires qualities of stubbornness and harsh realism in what we used to think of as "unenlightened" or "conservative" Catholics, like Cardinal Spellman. One need not admire or approve of his methods or statements any more than before, in order to see more clearly what he was up against—and what we are still up against. If *his* was not the way to resist, what *is* the way?

So many intelligent and artistic Catholics seem to cut themselves loose from the Catholic community, imagining themselves to be (as it were) solitary gunslingers, out on their own. The community itself is so often abandoned, as the talented ones try to prove their degree of enlightenment by putting distance between themselves and "those others." Does the nation thereby gain? Does the Catholic community gain? Do the talented ones gain? . . . What do they gain?

If liberal Catholicism is not an exploration of what the Catholic community will gradually become, but rather a vehicle by which some Catholics merely escape the superculture of the enlightened and the affluent, then

(Continued on page 167)

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AID TO VIETNAM

EUGENE J. McCARTHY

The telling argument for aid is the one now emphasized by the Administration

Beyond interest in the return of the prisoners of war, the withdrawal of troops, and the end of U.S. military action in Southeast Asia, few Americans seem to be interested in what happens in that part of the world and even fewer interested in a United States program of reconstruction.

A Gallup Poll published on January 26, 1973, the day before the cease-fire agreement was signed in Paris, reported that in response to the question "If a peace agreement is reached, should we agree to help rebuild cities in North Vietnam, or not?" 40 percent said we should; 51 percent said we should not; and 9 percent said they had no opinion.

Congressional response on essentially the same question, as posed by Congressional Quarterly and published in its *Weekly Report* of March 10, was even more negative. Of 197 members who responded to the questionnaire, more than two-thirds opposed aid to North Vietnam, and many also opposed aid to the U.S. allies in Indochina.

Yet President Nixon has promised a program of economic aid to North Vietnam and to South Vietnam. In his news conference on January 31 he called it "an investment in peace" and added that "the Congress has to believe it. The Congress has to support it. And this is going to be one of the more difficult assignments I have had as President, but I think we can make it if the Congress sees what the stakes are."

The change of tense in his statement may accurately describe the situation. Not only will the assignment be one of the most difficult he has had; it may have been one of the most difficult he will have.

Reasons given by members of Congress for their opposition to aid to Southeast Asia include the blunt explanation of Rep. Wayne Hays, who was quoted in the *Washington Post* of January 25, 1973 as saying with reference to North Vietnam, "Hell will be a skating rink before I vote any foreign aid for that bunch of murderers." The arguments range to the more subtle one that every dollar of economic aid to the North Vietnamese will release resources for military action against South Vietnam. An example of this would be the way that American economic aid to France during the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations indirectly supported French military action in Vietnam and Algeria.

Senator Pastore of Rhode Island, according to the *Congressional Record* of February 8, stated his position in these words: ". . . . before I am going to vote for a Marshall Plan for North Vietnam, I want a Marshall Plan for the Americans. . . ." Senator Talmadge of Georgia was quoted in the *Washington Post* of February 21, 1973 that it is "outrageous" for the Administration "to come to Congress preaching economy and extolling the virtues of saving the taxpayers' money and then to turn around and send the tax money to the Communist regime in Hanoi." And *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* of March 10 quotes a liberal House Democrat, James Symington of Missouri, as saying he is for "Americans first," and adding that he could vote for aid if it did not affect domestic programs and only if it went for "mistaken" hits like the bombing of hospitals in North Vietnam.

Senator McGovern, too, has qualified his support for an aid program. In the *Congressional Record* of Febru-

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ary 21 he is quoted in these words: ". . . After all these years of starving domestic programs to feed this incredible war, I cannot believe we will tell the American people that they must still go without services they need, so we can give huge sums of aid to our adversary in the war. . . . I will not join in a decision to tell the poor of this country that we cannot build decent low-cost housing here, because we are rebuilding Southeast Asia instead. I certainly will not tell the veterans of Vietnam that we are neglecting their needs to pay off the North."

Among those who favor aid there is disagreement over how it should be given. Senator Fulbright, for example, favors the administration of aid by an international agency. Americans for Democratic Action, while supporting United States participation in a multilateral reconstruction program for all of Indochina, says it "will not support a new vehicle for propping up the Saigon government."

When the cease-fire agreement was signed, the United Nations Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, suggested that the U.N. should play an important role in reconstruction if the parties involved so wish. But the parties involved seem less than enthusiastic. North Vietnam prefers bilateral aid, and the Nixon Administration is willing to use the bilateral approach.

There is further disagreement over how an aid program, if one is approved, should be financed. Senator Humphrey has suggested that the money be provided by reducing military spending. Senator McGovern suggested that President Nixon seek reconstruction funds from U.S. corporations that have profited from the war and from U.S. companies that hope to develop South Vietnam's offshore oil resources. (In view of the recent exposé of I.T.T.'s offer of a million dollars to help the government conduct a certain Chilean policy, this may not be wholly unrealistic as a proposal.)

Senator McGovern suggested further that those who opposed the war should not be required to pay for war damage: "The war has been a source of heartache for millions of Americans who have seen it for years as a violation of this country's best ideals. Yet through their tax dollars, those same people were forced to pay for the bombing they opposed—including $500 million for the Christmas time raids alone. Is it proper now that those who opposed the raids and were not consulted, should now be asked to pay for the damage?" (*Congressional Record,* February 21, 1973)

To complicate the situation even more, also involved is the struggle between the President and the Congress on how power over foreign policy and programs is to be shared. In a speech given at Johns Hopkins University, in April of 1965, President Johnson suggested that the United Nations sponsor a development plan for Southeast Asia, and said that he would ask Congress to join in a "billion-dollar American investment in this effort as soon as it is underway." Secretary of State Dean Rusk, appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February of 1966, said "If there is peace, North Vietnam could participate in a regional effort to which we would be prepared to contribute at least one billion dollars."

Senator Fulbright questioned the appropriateness of promising aid to a country at the same time our bombs were falling on it. He and other senators also challenged the Administration's right to promise aid without consultation with Congress.

Again in 1973, members of Congress and others are raising questions about the appropriateness of offering aid to Cambodia while we are bombing there. And some questioned the President's initiative when in January of 1972, without consultation with Congress, he revealed that in secret negotiations with North Vietnam he had indicated that the U.S. was "prepared to undertake a major reconstruction program throughout Indochina, including North Vietnam. . . ." This commitment was explained several days later by the President's press secretary as involving "illustrative" figures of five billion dollars in aid for South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and 2.5 billion in aid for North Vietnam over a five-year period.

The Prospects

It is generally held in the Congress that if members can give only one reason for opposing legislation supported by an Administration, the chances of its passage are very good. If Congress has two reasons for opposing the legislation, it is in jeopardy but likely to pass. But if Congress has three reasons for opposition, the program or legislation is in real trouble and almost certain to be rejected. Applying this general rule to aid for Vietnam, one should conclude that the program will not be approved.

Yet I think that a program will be approved.

It will not be approved because of any widespread sense of moral obligation. The position of Clergy and Laity Concerned, which calls for "a new level of consciousness among our people about what we have destroyed and about our obligation to do what we can to rebuild and to heal," does not appear to have wide popular appeal or wide support in the Congress. Members of Congress who supported the war (that is, the great majority) will not accept the idea of guilt or reparations. Neither is there any clear evidence of a sense of guilt over the war among the people of the country or of willingness or disposition to acknowledge guilt by public action.

Appeals to the American tradition of helping war victims, defeated enemies, and allies, as we did with the Marshall Plan, elicit little response. We do not have a defeated enemy to help. In fact, we have not ended the

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war. Yet there is some concern over the victims and a general willingness to help them if aid can be given without military and political involvement.

The telling argument for aid is the one now emphasized by the Administration. It is that aid is necessary in order to secure peace. According to this argument, aid to South Vietnam will sustain and strengthen that country in its efforts to maintain its independence. Aid to North Vietnam is presented as a sort of carrot that goes along with several sticks, the combination of which supposedly will restrain the North Vietnamese.

President Nixon made the case in his press conference on January 31 of this year. After he had included with fine impartiality the many Congressmen and other Americans who, he said, "are not keen on helping any of the countries in that area, just as they are not keen on foreign aid generally," he went on to say of himself, "But as far as I am concerned, whether it is with the North or the South or the other countries in the area, I look upon this as a potential investment in peace. To the extent that the North Vietnamese, for example, participate with us and with other interested countries in reconstruction of North Vietnam, they will have a tendency to turn inward to the works of peace rather than turning outward to the works of war."

Evidence of acceptance of his position, or of surrender to his argument, was present even before the President's news conference. Rep. George Mahon, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, anticipated the President's statement by a few days when he said, "It is inherent in the cease-fire that we will continue to provide assistance to South Vietnam and rehabilitation assistance to North Vietnam. I know this will be upsetting to many Americans and I hope it can be held to a minimum, but it must be accepted as a fact of life. It's a better alternative than continuation of the war." (*Washington Post,* January 25, 1973)

And Senator Pell followed quickly by introducing a bill to cut off U.S. aid if the nation to which it is given is found by the President to be violating the cease-fire. According to the *Congressional Record* of February 8, 1973, the Senator said that "U.S. aid should be used as leverage to keep the peace" and that passage of his bill would "put all parties on notice that the American people will not tolerate a deliberate failure to carry out the terms of the agreement." Moreover, he said that the bill would "give the President a positive tool to encourage compliance."

The Senator may have claimed too much for his bill. It is more negative than positive, and its passage might well show less than he said it would about the American people. But the fact that he has introduced it and set his defense for support of the President's program is an indication of what may be expected from a majority of both the House and the Senate.

The important political point is this: The President has said, and he will continue to say, that an aid program is essential to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. He cannot prove that it is, but he will continue to say so. He will get newspaper headlines every time he does, and whenever he wishes he can call the television and radio networks and say, "Stop the networks, I want to get on." He will be given prime time. Opponents of his program can ask for equal time. They may get it, and they may not. Even if they are given time, they will not command the attention the President does. If Congress refuses to support an aid program and Southeast Asia falls apart or (more specifically) if South Vietnam falls apart or is taken over by the Viet Cong or by North Vietnam, the President will charge, even though he cannot prove it, that what happened was the result of the failure of Congress to approve his aid program.

Some members of Congress will support aid because of genuine humanitarian concern for the people of Southeast Asia, some with a sense of moral obligation to make up for our military actions there. But the decisive consideration will be the potential for political exploitation of the aid issue by the President. We will come close to what T. S. Eliot defined in *Murder in the Cathedral* as the greatest treason—"to do the right deed for the wrong reason."

MARTIN GALVIN

ARMY SAWBONES

We remove a lot of limbs in all the seasons.
The taking down has its own reasons

as compelling as the putting up. More studied too,
more art than science will accept, than craft construe,

this swift cut through the bone, tying off the trunk,
splicing roots together, lowering the hunk

of dead limb to the ground. It used to be Spring
was slow; few things break then, the sap sings

in limber boys. Here's one now. When he fell
his taking down was carried off so well

the nerves won't sense for months the leg is gone.
They pulse useless to a brain knows the knuckled bone

will calce, with its own boot, the footless stump.
Those antique butchers, snow and freezing rain, we lump

with modern pains like napalm, hand grenades. We cut
true
no matter what the cause. We are the civilizers, screw

the old bone to the new synthetic shape, meld
the joint, send the soldered soldier home to mend.

Now the taking down owns all the seasons.
We saw limbs. All men own the reasons.

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FROM THE ASHES, PHOENIX

JEFFREY STEIN and MICHAEL T. KLARE

U.S. political warfare in South Vietnam

ALTHOUGH much has been written about the air war and other conventional military activities in Indochina, very little is known about U.S. intelligence activities and political warfare. In the interview below, former Army Intelligence operative Jeffrey Stein provides an inside look at Operation Phoenix, the CIA campaign to liquidate the administrative apparatus of the National Liberation Front. Stein was "on station" in Vietnam throughout most of 1969, and thus was in a unique position to witness the growing suppression of Buddhists and other neutralist forces by U.S. and Saigon government security agencies.

Operation Phoenix is a U.S.-funded program to identify, apprehend and "neutralize" members of the Vietcong Infrastructure (VCI), the NLF's "shadow government" in the countryside. According to U.S. Government statistics, 20,587 South Vietnamese civilians were assassinated under Phoenix between January 1968 and May 1971, and another 28,978 were confined to jail or prison (Hearings before the House Subcommittee on Govt. Information, 1971, p. 183). Until Jan., 1973 Phoenix was a part of CORDS—Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support—the pacification directorate of the U.S. Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (MACV); since the peace settlement was signed, however, CORDS was transferred to "civilian" control under the aegis of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Jeffrey Stein is currently a graduate student at the University of California in Berkeley, and an activist in Vietnam Veterans Against the War and Medical Aid for Indochina. He was interviewed by Michael T. Klare, author of *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams* (Knopf, 1972), and a staff member of the North American Congress on Latin America.

Q. When did you get into Army Intelligence?

A. I enlisted for Intelligence in February of '67. I spent eight weeks at Fort Knox in basic training from there I went to Fort Holabird, Maryland, from mid-April to early October, '67, and spent six weeks in what's called the Area Studies Program. From there I went to the Vietnamese Language School in El Paso, Texas for a year, and in November 1968 I ended up in Vietnam, and spent a year in Da Nang.

Q. What were you then—a private in Army Intelligence?

A. At that time I was a corporal. Once in Vietnam we removed our corporal's insignia because our orders were specially handled. Within an hour of our arrival in Long Binh we were picked up by a fellow in a Ford Falcon and we were taken to a place in Saigon called the Ponderosa, which was the headquarters of the 525th MI group, Military Intelligence group. From there, we waited about a week or so until we got our assignments. Once you got an assignment, you were sent to a duty station, which might have been in one of six battalions of the 525th; five battalions correspond to the five Corps areas in Vietnam, and the sixth battalion was concerned solely with what was called "third country operations"—Cambodia, Laos, China, Burma. Once you're assigned to the field, you don't even deal with your battalion headquarters except through intermediaries, you work on your own. You live off the local economy. You have no contact with headquarters whatsoever.

Q. What were your specific orders when you were sent to Da Nang?

A. Each battalion was divided into bilateral and unilateral operations. Bilateral operations worked with the South Vietnamese. There was a bilateral intelligence collection team and there was a bilateral counter-intelligence team. The third team was unilateral collection—the team I was assigned to. That is, we worked by ourselves without the cooperation—and supposedly without the knowledge—of the South Vietnamese. The advantages of that being that we could work in closer cooperation with Phoenix as a collection arm without the dangers of having all that information leak all the time to South Vietnamese Intelligence. So I was assigned to the third team of the first battalion of the 525th MI Group. In mid-December 1968 we had about five members on our team, and we had two operations going at that time.

Q. What were the two operations?

A. One was a political operation designed solely to

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gather information for Phoenix. And secondly, we had an operation which was a large net collecting combat information primarily.

Q. What constitutes military intelligence information?

A. The mission of the intelligence agencies operated by the various branches—Army, Navy and Air Force—is to gather information in direct support of combat units. The primary mission of our team was to collect information in support of First Marine Division, Third Marine Air Forces, Third Marine Air Wing, and a few Army units—such as, I think, the Americal Division operating south of us. The following paragraph is representative of this information:

> 19 November '68—A unit of approximately 300 unidentified soldiers wearing dark green khaki uniforms and carrying approximately 200 AR-15's was sighted moving across a valley at position XY 1950. . . .

These were usually short-paragraph intelligence reports called "Army Intelligence Reports," the acronym of which was AIR—and the Marines often called them "hot AIR." They weren't very reliable—I would say that only ten percent of them were accurate. Most of the information was baloney. However, a lot of military decisions at the command level were based on this information.

Q. How was this information collected?

A. The cycle starts when you recruit one man. He then becomes your principal agent and is then directed to recruit additional agents. And over the year's period, this principal agent hired three cell-leaders who were then directed to hire action agents. We would levy requests for information on the principal agent who would then levy them on the cell-leader, who would then levy them on the action agent. The action agents used flimsy covers such as woodcutters or rice-gatherers, and would travel into the Que Son Valley region and they would pick up a little information on North Vietnamese and NLF units; they would then send it to, or they would be debriefed by, a cell-leader. The cell-leader would then send a report to the principal agent; and the principal agent would then deliver the reports to me via a cut-out, who was a courier. I would be notified the reports were in by a chalk-marking on a predesignated pole or wall in Da Nang. I saw the mark on the wall: I would then send my cut-out—that is the courier or interpreter or something—to a predesignated place where he would be met by the agent's courier. The information would be passed and brought back to me.

Q. What was the motivation for these agents to do this?

A. Money was a primary motive, I'm sure, at the level of the action agent. In a war situation, you make money when you can. They were paid about a thousand piasters a month, which, at that time, would be about six dollars. The principal agent and the cell-leaders' motivations were a little bit different. I didn't find out until a month or two before I came home that they were all members of the Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang (VNQDD) which was the Vietnamese nationalist party—an anti-Communist nationalist group that has a history in Vietnam much like the Kuomintang of China. (It shows how little Americans did know of the social and political history of Vietnam that this particular agent had been in our employ for about a year and a half by the time I got there. And he was in my employ for about nine months. So it was a total of two years or more before it was known that he was a member of this political party.) The natural enemies of the VNQDD in Quang Nam were the Buddhists. It happened that in most of the political information that was reported to me when I started to levy political requirements on the principal agent, the targets were mostly Buddhists. Reports constantly cited NLF cadres using the cover of Buddhists monks, or NLF groups using Buddhist youth groups as covers—constantly emphasizing that Buddhist militancy was nothing but a cover for the NLF. Therefore, I duly passed this information on for a number of months to the Phoenix operatives who systematically wiped out a lot of Buddhist youth group members.

Q. When did you first hear about Phoenix?

A. Well, the first day I arrived at the team level, I asked what Phoenix was, and they said, "That's CIA." And then I asked, "What actually does Phoenix do?" and they said, "Well, they clandestinely seek out members of the Viet Cong Infrastructure, and assassinate them, or otherwise neutralize them in some way." And you know, I'd spent a couple of weeks as a political analyst at MACV, where I'd been told: "That's a big ball game down here, that's what's going on now. Get the VCI. That's the name of the game: political warfare," and that sounded pretty logical to me, given my political orientation at the time. So we worked with Phoenix; we handed them political reports.

Q. Let's get deeper into Phoenix. After you were in Da Nang a while, you said you started developing one cell particularly for political intelligence. Did that decision come from higher up? Or was that your decision?

A. That was my decision. Arising primarily out of very mundane reasons, that I was more interested in the political topics than I was in the military. So I started to get some political intelligence about Buddhist youth

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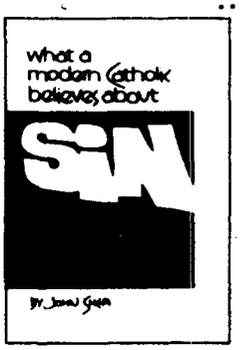

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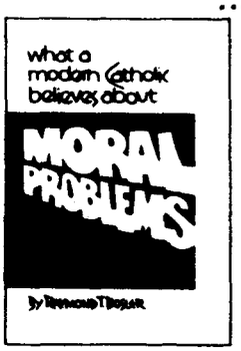

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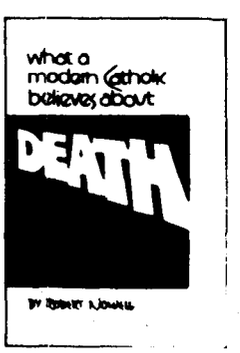

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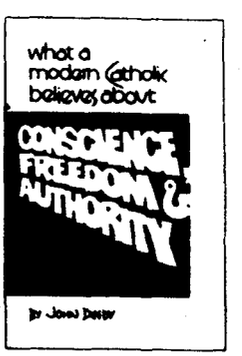

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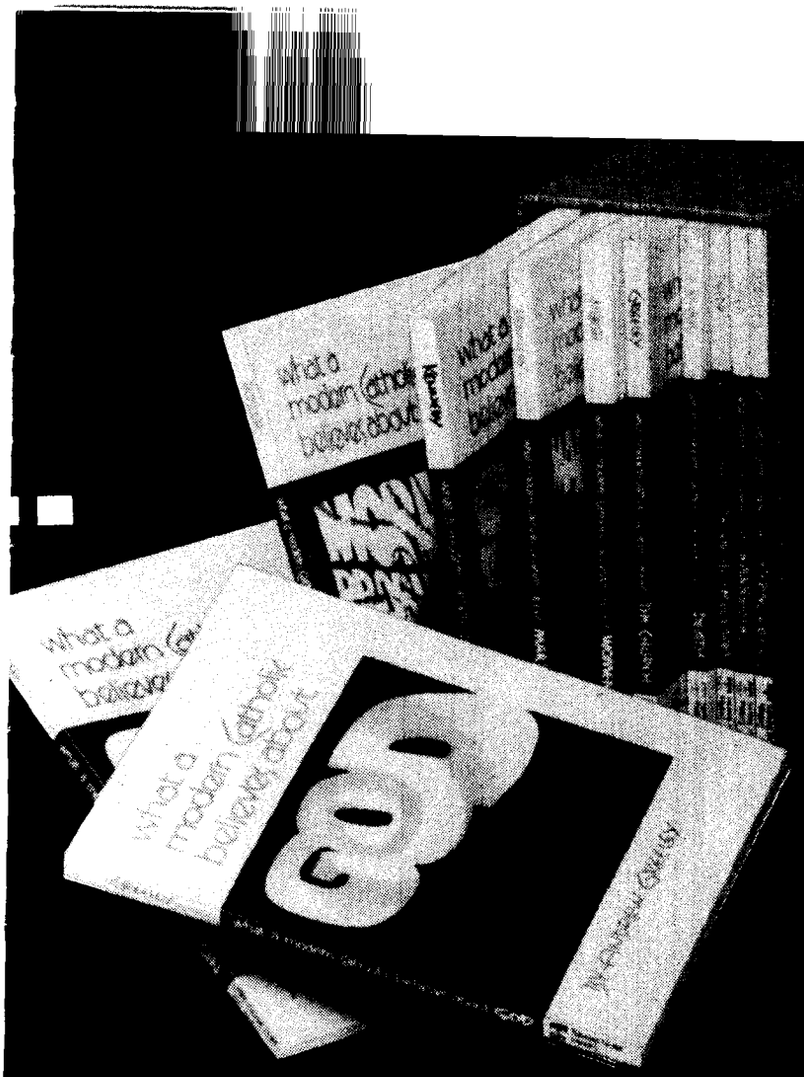

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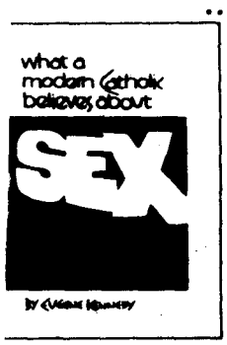

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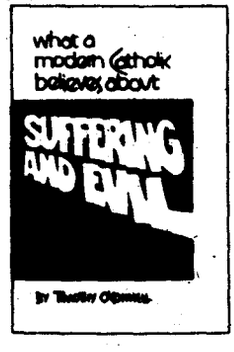

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groups and so on as being an NLF front from one cell. And so I started developing that kind of operation on my own.

Q. You say that you initiated the specific requirement on your agents that they provide political information. What typically did that include?

A. Well, this was about the time of the death of Ho Chi Minh. There was a lot of organizing activity on at that time. The PRG, I think, had been established that summer also, just prior to his death. And so there were a lot of village-level political meetings sponsored by the NLF. One of our agents happened to go to those meetings and start reporting on the organization of farmers' associations and women's associations, etc., at the village level. And so that was the type of information which was both "political" and combat-related. So I was encouraged to collect more information of that type. And so, it sort of led me into the role of the Buddhists in these local organizations, and it started to be more centered in Da Nang City, which, as you know, has been the center of Buddhist opposition to the war and to various successive Saigon regimes. And so the agents started to tie in more frequently connections between the emerging Provisional Revolutionary Government and Buddhist youth groups. At that time, I believe VNQDD, as the most potent political anti-Communist force in northern South Vietnam, was trying to destroy the credibility of the Buddhists in the eyes of the American Embassy. To do that they would just keep on filing reports about Communist infiltration of the Buddhists.

Q. When did you begin to become suspicious of these reports?

A. Well, I started to do a little more reading about the development of the VNQDD historically. And then I started reading the CIA files about the VNQDD and a lot of their activities during the sixties. And I found out, of course, that all my cell leaders and my principal agent were members of the VNQDD. The fact that they were all members of the VNQDD, that during a polygraph examination it became apparent that the head agent was very much involved in VNQDD proselytizing, that his targets were always specifically Buddhists, led me to see a connection between the two, knowing that the VNQDD had been active against the Buddhists in the sixties. And then I just began to operate under the premise that, well, what we are here is a conduit for the VNQDD to use the U.S. government and the Phoenix program as an action arm of political assassination for them to wipe out their Buddhist operation.

Q. What happened with the information that you gave Phoenix—to your knowledge?

A. The files would be checked. And a name would come in—let's say Nguyen Thi Nguyen. And let's say that she was named in one of my reports as the leader of the village women's association in a certain village. So then the black list would be checked by us. . . .

Q. Precisely what is the "black list" and how is it used?

A. The "black list" is a compilation of names that have emerged in intelligence reports from all the intelligence agencies. They do not necessarily have to be confirmed. They just have to come up, I think, three times in reports on a particular village, say Thanh Hoa village. And Nguyen Thi Nguyen is a name that pops up three times in that village. Well, there might be fifteen, there might be twenty-five Nguyen Thi Nguyens in that village.

So that if a poor Nguyen Thi Nguyen happened to be picked up in a sweep, I mean, she was as good as dead because that name was on the "black list" and she was from that particular village. But she might not necessarily be an NLF cadre. In fact, there might have been a women's village association cadre by the name of Nguyen Thi Nguyen, but, unfortunately, there are also twenty-five other Nguyen Thi Nguyens in that village. If one of them is picked up, she would be arbitrarily designated as "that one" and rot away in a cell somewhere or be interrogated until she died.

Q. Okay, let's get back to the sequence of events. You get a name: Nguyen Thi Nguyen from such and such a village who is reported to be a member of the local women's association. And then you passed this on to the Phoenix people?

A. I would take a report like that to the Phoenix people. The Phoenix people would then activate what is called the Provincial Reconnaissance Unit, that is PRU. Then the PRU team which was composed, I believe, of twelve Vietnamese led by an American, would go out and sweep into this village and try to capture this person.

Q. And then what would happen?

A. Then the person would be taken to the local provincial or district interrogation center—or, if there was a Marine team, be taken to the local Marine counter-intelligence team— to be interrogated. The Marine team's facilities were very crude. The interrogation room would just be a crude hutch—"hooch" as they're called—divided perhaps into sort of a barbed wire cage or a chicken-wire sort of cage. Maybe there'd be a pan of water there. And the person would be kept in there until he or she broke or died.

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Q. Do you know first-hand what went on in the interrogations of people whom you turned over to the Marines?

A. No, It was just a common point of conversation with the people who did interrogation that they were dealing with a worthless human being and that, if they didn't get the information, they didn't worry about returning them to the village because they would be hostile to the Americans anyway. So that they would just sort of, you know, interrogate them until they died, or they would get rid of them in some way. They often talked about "wiring them up" which meant attaching radio-telephones to their genitals. Pouring water in their ears. Taking them up for an "airborne interrogation."*

Q. Do you know what went on in the Phoenix intelligence centers, as distinct from the military intelligence?

A. Well, Phoenix centers were staffed, by, one, the CIA people, and secondly, by military personnel on loan to them for Phoenix operations—usually they were Special Forces personnel who directed the PRUs. And so we'd take the information over and the CIA people would go through the information and identify the target. Then they would direct the PRU teams to go out and take care of that particular target.

Q. What exactly does "taking care of that individual" mean?

A. Well, either capture or assassination, or kidnapping. Kidnapping, you know, was a common thing that they liked to do. They really liked the whole John Wayne bit—to go in and capture someone at night. The helicopter was flown in. They'd put him in one of these bins—these garbage collection type bins—and the helicopter would pick up the bin and fly him off to a regional interrogation center.

Q. And then they would be tortured at the interrogation center?

A. Yeah, I think it's common knowledge what goes on at the interrogation centers. I didn't have to be there to know what was going on. It's like the Bob Dylan song: "You don't need a weatherman to tell you which way the wind's blowing." It was common knowledge that when someone was picked up their lives were just about at an end because the Americans most likely felt that, if they were to turn someone like that back, into the countryside it would just be multiplying NLF followers.

*Dumping them from helicopters

Q. How do you feel about being questioned on this topic?

A. Well, I've done it before. You wonder sometimes what good comes of it, you know. What direction the information we get out goes? Actually, the act of testifying about Phoenix has been a more radicalizing experience, I think, than the war was. You see the Congressional committees listen and listen and make some sort of nebulous recommendation that the information be followed up. But it's about two years ago that Bart Osborn started testifying and a year-and-a-half ago that I testified to the Winter Soldier Investigation. I get into a cyclical depression about this whole thing because you just see it continuing month after month—popping up elsewhere. You see Phoenix-type programs developing in the Philippines, South America, Central America. And so the beat goes on. And more people get imprisoned.

Q. Do you have any insights about the situation in Vietnam now?

A. There's one thing that I think is very important in terms of the political situation: This is the fact that there is a Standard Operating Procedure for intelligence agencies for the situation that exists there in terms of an impending truce. Thus when I was in Da Nang, say, if we were pushed out of the city during Tet or something, we had alternative means of communication set up so that we would be able to maintain the operation whether we were in Da Nang, or not. In other words, through radios, through couriers, or some other method of communicating with the agents. I am sure right now —given the unstable situation right now—that the prime mission of intelligence agencies is to set up stay-behind operations in the event a truce actually does go into effect. And, since there are so few American combat agencies in Vietnam, the nets—the intelligence nets—are being increasingly oriented towards political warfare, and all the agents are probably being retrained, or have been retrained in the last six months or so, in political intelligence collection techniques: infiltration of organizations, development of cover towards political ends, and so on.

American case officers are meeting frequently with their agents now and developing alternative means of communication so that when the officers are removed to areas such as Bangkok or Phnom Penh, or Vientiane, or even Tokyo, or actually the United States, they can maintain communication with their agents and direct them towards political personnel, the VCI. So that, even though the United States withdraws its troops, even if it withdrew all its civilian advisers in Vietnam, the operations would be able to continue indefinitely—whether there was one American in Vietnam or not.

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THIEU'S SOUTH VIETNAM, or How we built and learned to love a charnel house

EDWARD S. HERMAN

A precondition for the long American involvement in Vietnam has always been ignorance and confusion on the part of the American public as to what we were really doing there, which was always in radical contradiction with our *professed* aims. "Full disclosure" as required in the sale of securities would long ago have destroyed the sustaining myths that we were trying to help (or "save") the majority of South Vietnamese (although our policies were always consistent with the interests of a small elite, many of whom functioned solely to service Americans); that we were preserving free choice and self-determination and opposing aggression by somebody else; that it was the enemy who relied primarily on force and terror; and that our goal was a democratic order in South Vietnam.

Each of these myths was exploded by a succession of individual analysts, by the Pentagon Papers, and by a steady stream of facts seeping out of Vietnam and Washington over the years, but rarely have things been pulled together into a coherent whole and put forward by the mass media. Even a Mylai was treated in isolation as an individual horror requiring punishment, not explored in its full meaning and ramifications. And it was soon dropped as no longer "newsworthy," with a solemn return to "objective" transmission of Saigon-Pentagon handouts on "Vietcong casualties." The fact that there were 100 "Vietcong" and no civilian casualties in the original Mylai report led to no reassessment of the truth content of official handouts; nor did a Mylai lead to a reconsideration of the meaning of "pacification." The Pentagon Papers were turned by the media into a dramatic contest between the press and the government rather than used as a rich source of evidence and an opportunity to explain and continually review the bases and character of our involvement.

Still less often did the mass media use existing knowledge to refute the war-makers as they piously intoned their Orwellian banalities about "leaving neighbors alone" and the evils of resorting to "violence." Thus President Nixon now tells us that "The people of South Vietnam have been guaranteed the right to determine their own future without outside interference," and, perhaps aided by the euphoria produced by the peace agreement, the mass media take this without a murmur—vintage Orwell, successfully institutionalized. The imposition of a minority faction of our choice, temporarily sustained in power by years of the most violent and massive outside interference, and which survives only by U.S. sustenance and increasingly brutal repression, is established as the great triumph of American selflessness!

The nature of our creation in South Vietnam is the theme of the short but well documented and terrifying study of *Hostages of War, Saigon's Political Prisoners,* by Holmes Brown and Don Luce.* It is an invaluable work deserving maximum attention and exposure. The details of conditions in South Vietnam and the processes at work there have become harder to come by during the past three years. The Thieu government has not only cracked down on its own newspapers (well described by Brown and Luce), but foreign reporters have been made to toe the line or be expelled, and the Nixon-Agnew media "discipline" campaign seems to have reduced the ability or willingness of the media to search as well as to report and analyze. Vietnamese have also become less communicative as a result of the huge expansion of the South Vietnamese secret police, intelligence, use of modern surveillance techniques and the attrition of controls over the police.

The main things Brown and Luce have to tell us are variations on this theme: that "Vietnamization" has completed the erection of a centralized, corrupt, and exceptionally brutal police state. With American "know-how" placed in the hands of the most fanatical and vicious elements of the dying old order in South Vietnam, and in the context of a foreign-sponsored and -managed anti-people's war, the modes and scope of torture and systematic police violence in the Thieu state bear comparison with anything Europe produced during the heyday of fascism. Electrical and water torture, the ripping out of fingernails, enforced drinking of solutions of powdered lime, beatings ending in death, are a *commonplace and normal procedure* in the Thieu prisons. In Quang Ngai, for example, Dr. Marjorie Nelson "saw dozens of patients who had coughed up, vomited or urinated blood after being beaten about the chest, back and stomach." In another AFSC report cited by the authors, "A 17-year old boy, near death, had been unable to urinate for four days and was in extreme pain. After treatment by a Quaker doctor, we were informed that the prisoner had been tortured by electrical charges to his genital organs. A young girl had seizures, stared into space and exhibited symptoms of loss of memory. She said she had been forced to drink a lime solution many times while being inter-

*Indochina Mobile Education Project, 1322 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. 1973. pp.109, $1.50.

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rogated." Direct evidence of similar character is cited for many prisons—and the documented evidence is as shattering as anything in *Darkness at Noon* or *Out of the Night.*

Brown and Luce show in detail how the already tenuous rule of law in South Vietnam has been completely terminated under Thieu, the other side of the coin being the rise and triumph of essentially unrestrained police powers to seize, imprison and molest. (As an illustration, one recent Thieu decree-law states that "Those persons considered dangerous to the national defense and public security may be interned in a prison or designated area, or banished from designated areas for a maximum period of two years, which is renewable.") This breakdown of law has been paralleled by a huge increase in the numbers of police. The National Police Force, which is only one of a dozen agencies legally authorized to make arrests, was enlarged from 16,000 in 1963 to over 120,000 in 1972, and still further increases are contemplated. There has also been a pervasive spread of a large police-intelligence network over the entirety of South Vietnam. At the same time there has been a great expansion in the number of prisons and prisoners, with over 200 national prisons and hundreds of local jails housing an estimated population of over 200,000 political prisoners.

Brown and Luce stress the important fact that imprisonment and torture in South Vietnam are by no means confined to "suspected Communists." In recent years the Thieu government has engaged in a determined effort to destroy any organized non-Communist opposition to its rule, largely by means of intimidation and violence. The Thieu regime is described by the pro-government *Saigon Daily News* itself as "a coalition of the extreme right," but even this designation is objected to by informed Vietnamese as too broad as well as insulting to respectable rightists. These Vietnamese consider the Thieu government a "Vietnamese Mafia," incorrigibly corrupt, with members still active in the heroin trade, and devoid of interest in Vietnam except as a theater of struggle for personal power. In any case, this faction is opposed not only by the PRG but also by the great majority of the politically active Buddhist and Catholic clergy, labor leaders, students and intellectuals. The vast repressive machinery of the Thieu state has been employed to a great extent against this center, which it has properly regarded as a serious threat to its rule.

In early November, 1972, Amnesty International put forward a Protocol specifically oriented to the protection of civilian detainees in Indochina. The proposal was a response to the failure of the Kissinger-Tho agreement of October to provide for the prompt release of civilian prisoners and the absence of protections for civilian detainees similar to those afforded military prisoners of war under the 1949 Geneva Convention. It was an open secret that the Amnesty move was directed to publicizing and alleviating the threat to Thieu's political prisoners. The reader of Brown's and Luce's book will understand from their description of conditions and practices already prevalent in "free Vietnam" why Amnesty's fear of a sharply accelerated Thieu bloodbath is highly realistic.

The authors stress throughout their book the intimate involvement (and responsibility) of the United States in the consolidation of Thieu's power, both in the provision of continuing broad support and in facilitating the detailed activities of repression, imprisonment and torture. Nixon has clearly put all *our* money and his own moral support behind Thieu. But in addition, the specific funding of the police and prisons and detailed planning and strategy for the Thieu terror (Phoenix is discussed in detail as a case in point) are shown to have been almost entirely American. It is a familiar, mildly flattering, but false cliché that in its external interventions the United States has been trying to create a world in its own image. In the Third World, however, where U.S. interventions have been most direct and decisive, the model of our leaders has clearly been the repressive military junta, hardly the middle-of-the-road democratic reformer. Bosch, Papandreou, and the militant Buddhists of South Vietnam have been found too "unreliable," and our leadership has regularly helped quash them by force. Thieu and the Thieu state are not "in our image" but they are not alone in gaining unstinting support while in the process of stripping away the last vestiges of a democratic and humane order.

In speaking of the Diemist state in 1961, General Edward G. Lansdale commented that "I cannot truly sympathize with Americans who help promote a fascistic state and then get angry when it doesn't act like a democracy." In *Hostages of War* Holmes Brown and Don Luce show that we have come a long way since 1961. We have created in South Vietnam a monster that makes the Diemist fascism of 1961 look benevolent and at least marginally home-grown; and Mr. Nixon and his followers are not angry that their brutal satellite doesn't act like a democracy.

EDWARD S. HERMAN, *a previous contributor, teaches at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.*

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SHELDON FLORY

DUSK

Birds dream
In darkening boughs.
Around us overhead
Small hearts beat.

Letters breathe in the dark
Of mailboxes: prayers
In iron phylacteries.

I am full
Of sleeping words. I am
The mezuzah at the door of myself.

Himself his own metaphor
The Word as beating flesh
Wakes in us
And we may sleep.

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THE SCREEN

Every year the Academy Awards nominations produce an odd lot of films whose only fascination derives from the very mystery of their being (or not being) nominated. It's hard to imagine films so undistinguished in themselves that they could become distinguished by being nominated. The imagination, like the eye, is not used to perceiving things this small. But certainly *The Poseidon Adventure* was capable of arousing no controversy before the Academy failed to nominate it for special effects. (This category, in which *The Poseidon Adventure* was sure winner, was omitted this year. The oversight was rectified, however, by giving *The Poseidon Adventure* a no-contest, special special-effects award.) Conversely, had not *Sounder* and *Pete 'n' Tillie* each been nominated in various categories, no one would ever have noticed that Martin Ritt directed both of them. Nor would *Sleuth* have gotten the publicity it has if Michael Caine and Lord Olivier had not hogged two places for one film on the best-actor list. Since none of these films copped their awards (except the one that wasn't nominated), the whole issue of their nomination seems somewhat academic. Still, one feels he ought not to have ignored such honored losers.

The Poseidon Adventure is one of those movies in which the plot is an embarrassing interlude between special effects. This is always the case in movies about ocean-liner disasters because they are by nature anticlimactic. They're as lopsided and leaky as the disabled ships they're about. In any intelligently constructed adventure story, the action builds up slowly to a climax somewhere near the end. But in these films the climax has to occur at the beginning, when the ship hits the iceberg, blows its boilers or, as in this case, is capsized by a tidal wave. Such stories are structured more like billiard games than stories. All the drama is predetermined by the break. Maybe this is why the psychology of the characters always seems so thin. That premature climax, the main event of the action, is a physics problem rather than a human one. It's impossible to reestablish the significance of the characters once they've been reduced to mere pictorial details in the most important scene in the movie.

The irony of these films is that their effectiveness is often in inverse proportion to the ambitiousness of their special effects. All special-effects men strive for spectacle, even when something subtle would be more chilling. They all have the mind of a P. T. Barnum where the mind of a jeweler is in many instances what is needed. The best special effect I've ever seen in a movie of this sort is in *A Night to Remember* (1958), a British film about the Titanic. The camera is staring into a deserted dining room from which the passengers have long ago departed. Everything is still and nothing seems amiss, until a waiter's cart gently begins rolling down the floor of its own accord. But *The Poseidon Adventure* isn't traveling first class like this. I suppose that when a ship capsizes, things just can't happen gradually and with such finesse.

For what it is, *The Poseidon Adventure* does reasonably well. The model of the ship, the studio-tank tidal wave, etc. are all very well executed, and in the aftermath the sloshing, rising salt water is very nicely peppered with flame effects. On the other hand, the periodic explosions look as if they were rigged up by the lighting technician in some sleazy night club. If it's explosions you want, you should see *The Last Voyage* (1960). But that's a whole different disaster.

Sleuth begins with Milo Tindall (Michael Caine) wandering in a maze on the grounds of an estate owned by Andrew Wycke (Laurence Olivier). Milo's mistress is Andrew's wife, so Andrew has invited Milo for a weekend of fun and games. Milo's first game seems to be trying to find his host, who is at the center of the maze dictating one of his famous detective stories. The reason Milo is having so much trouble is that Andrew cheats. None of the labyrinth's passages leads to the center chamber. Access can be gained only through a panel hidden in the wall of the hedge from which the maze is formed. After this auspicious introduction, Andrew and Milo spend the whole weekend alone trying to outwit each other—trading meretricious murders tit for tat until finally one of them really does the other in.

Like Andrew, playright-scenarist Anthony Shaffer and director Joe Mankiewicz have begun our association with Milo by cheating. Without knowing it, we have entered this story through a trick panel in the credits that is just as well concealed as the one in Andrew's hedge. We might have guessed, though, that the murder mysteries in this script are not to be taken seriously. Such pulpy plots are too obvious for cosmopolites like Andrew and Milo, or Shaffer and Mankiewicz. Crime and intrigue are merely a head game here. The only thing that is to be taken seriously is the head game itself. It is the one real subject of this film in which everything else—everything from murder to the identity of the actors—is only apparent.

The trouble with Shaffer and Mankiewicz is that they are too like Andrew and Milo: they put too much stock in cleverness. This has always been a weakness of Mankiewicz's. As *The Barefoot Contessa* and *Suddenly Last Summer* show, Mankiewicz is attracted to commercial material that is disguised in a mantle of wordiness. He confuses eloquence with truth, and this sometimes limits him as a maker of visual images.

Martin Ritt is a closet Will Rogers. Judging by his

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films he never met a character he didn't like, though he would sometimes be loath to admit it. *Hud,* the Ritt title role that Paul Newman played ten years ago, was billed as a man "with a barbed-wire soul." But even if he was an attempted rapist, Hud was still a man with a personality that seemed vaguely appealing and roguish at worst. In *The Molly Maguires* (1969), a period drama about a secret society of coal miners who battle company police and sabotage mines, the central character is an undercover agent hired by the company to infiltrate the miners. Even so, he is a likable undercover agent, a right lad despite betraying both his friends and the woman he loves. Ritt just couldn't seem to get any villainy into these characters.

It is therefore not surprising that when Ritt makes a film in which he is wholly sympathetic to the characters, they turn out to be pretty bland too. *Sounder* is about a black sharecropper (Paul Winfield) who is sent to a prison farm for stealing some meat for his family. While he is gone his wife (Cicely Tyson) brings in the crop by herself, and his son (Kevin Hooks) tries to find out what prison farm he's been sent to. Although these people and their problems are at opposite ends of the social spectrum from Pete and Tillie (Walter Matthau and Carol Burnett), they all share a certain disconcerting ability to remain unaltered by their experiences. After we have suffered through Pete and Tillie's courtship and marriage, we must bear with them while their only son dies. This catastrophe drives them apart for awhile, but they are happily reunited at last, as we knew they would be. They are just as resilient as the people in *Sounder*, who remain a relentlessly joyous, loving family despite malnutrition, poverty and injustice.

To make us appreciate their goodness and strength, characters need an adequate antagonism, a counter-force to oppose. But this is what Ritt cannot produce. He seems to have a deficient sense of evil and suffering, even though he keeps making movies about these things.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

Jesus and the fiction writer: new peak of alienation?

Fictional Transfigurations of Jesus

THEODORE ZIOLKOWSKI

Princeton, $10

SALLIE TeSELLE

This is a curious book—the only critical work I know of concerned with those numerous literary transfigurations of the story of Jesus from an entirely disinterested and purely aesthetic perspective, only in so far as they constitute a literary genre, only in so far as the recognition of parallels to that life can provide, as does recognition of parallels to a Greek myth or a Germanic legend, "an additional aesthetic pleasure" to the reading of a contemporary novel. Ziolkowski is concerned to identify this genre solely on the basis of *form.* A fictional transfiguration "is a fictional narrative in which the characters and the action, *irrespective of meaning or theme,* are prefigured to a noticeable extent by figures and events popularly associated with the life of Jesus as it is known in the Gospels" (p. 6, italics mine). He does not care what the story of Jesus might mean; the parallels he seeks are solely with the "events" and "facts" of the life of Jesus and the changes they undergo in contemporary fiction—Jesus' name, age, miracles, healings, Last Supper, crucifixion, and so on.

Ziolkowski's self-limitation to formal considerations frees him from dealing with most of the sticky (and more interesting) questions surrounding literary interest in Jesus. For instance, Erich Auerbach in *Mimesis* sees in the life of Jesus the pattern, at once formal *and* thematic, for most of Western literature, a pattern insisting on the importance of temporal decisions for eternal destiny. The sense of reality which the pattern of Jesus' life provided for over a thousand years, a pattern inseparable from its *meaning,* and the anguish which has accompanied its decline—these questions are beyond the scope (or interest) of Ziolkowski's much more limited study. He is the aesthete, viewing the story Jesus for its purely (narrowly) literary interest. The results have their assets as well as their liabilities.

Among the assets is the intriguing correlations he works out between the rise of historical criticism of Scriptural texts in the nineteenth century and increasing literary interest in the historical Jesus. The nimbus encircling Jesus fell with the rise of this scholarship, permitting various kinds of fictional transfigurations to blossom. Ziolkowski's erudition in both Biblical scholarship and literary parallels is impressive and thorough; one feels, after completing this hefty book, that the subject matter, within its defined limits, has been carefully surveyed and plumbed.

A thorough treatment of five types of literary transfigurations constitutes the major part of the book. These are the Christian Socialist Jesus, the earliest (late nineteenth-century) and most wooden of the parallels, concerned with a fictional character who "does what Jesus would do" for social re-

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form; the Christomaniacs such as the one in Kazantzakis' *The Greek Passion*, who, deranged, comes to think of himself as Jesus; the mythic Jesus, the product of post-Schweitzer distancing from the early fascination with the historical Jesus, who points to a culture-hero of mythic dimensions as in Hesse's *Demian* or Faulkner's *A Fable*; Comrade Jesus, a sophisticated Marxist parallelism, usually handled with some irony, as in Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* or Silone's *Bread and Wine*; the Fifth Gospel, the most contemporary and detached perspective, which is really not concerned with Jesus at all (who is often portrayed as ugly, immoral, or weak, as in Grass' *The Cat and Mouse*) but with a Judas-figure who interprets and betrays the Jesus-figure—Vidal's *Messiah* or Barth's *Giles Goat-Boy*. Through these types Ziolkowski traces a thread—the increasing alienation of the authors from the life of Jesus—speaking finally of the "moral neutralism" and "playful detachment" of the authors of the last category, a detachment also evident in the writers of such pieces as *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Godspell*: "the Gospel story has become pure myth to be exploited at will" (p. 232).

And it is here that the liabilities, or at least the curious nature, of this study emerge. Ziolkowski admits that it is "a matter of considerable significance that the typological pattern of Jesus should have consistently attracted an unusually great proportion of first-rate writers" (p. 273), but throughout his study he consistently refuses to attend to the "meaning" of that story. In fact, his bracketing of its meaning is the key methodological point of the entire study. *Why* have so many authors been attracted to the life of Jesus? For purely aesthetic reasons? That seems hard to believe. In fact, Ziolkowski himself mentions several times that the earliest fictional transfigurations were written with a kind of "hate" for what these authors saw as false religiosity obscuring the historical Jesus. In other words, they *cared* about that life; its meaning mattered to them. That point seems finally to miss Ziolkowski. Speaking of what he considers as the finest fictional transfigurations, he notes their "play with pure form that transcends all meaning" (p. 298). But he ends with a sadder and extraordinarily personal remark about his own perspective as author, a remark that has broader cultural implications than he may be aware of.

> . . . this very willingness to contemplate Jesus in any and all his transfigurations, this substitution of mere interest for the commitment of love or hate, suggests that we have attained a new peak of alienation. Proceeding from the flesh-and-blood Jesus of social criticism and psychiatry, we have moved beyond the attenuated *figura* of myth and parody to arrive at a bland construct twice-removed from its Gospel source: the scholar-critic's Jesus. And that, as Faith might concede to Skepticism, is perhaps the only Jesus we deserve (p. 298).

Over the centuries the life of Jesus has evoked passionate response. If we have indeed moved now through parody to blandness in our response to that life, we may truly be at the end of "the Christian era." But perhaps this is not the last word.

The Star-Spangled Hustle: White Power and Black Capitalism

ARTHUR I. BLAUSTEIN and GEOFREY FAUX

Doubleday, $7.95

DENNIS HALE

Here is a depressing book that will contain few surprises for those who have followed the Nixon Administration's attempts to dismantle the government's social welfare policy. It convincingly argues that the dismantling process began during the first month of the first year of the Nixon reign, and that it has continued unabated until the present. Now that it has gone on for four years it has finally been no-

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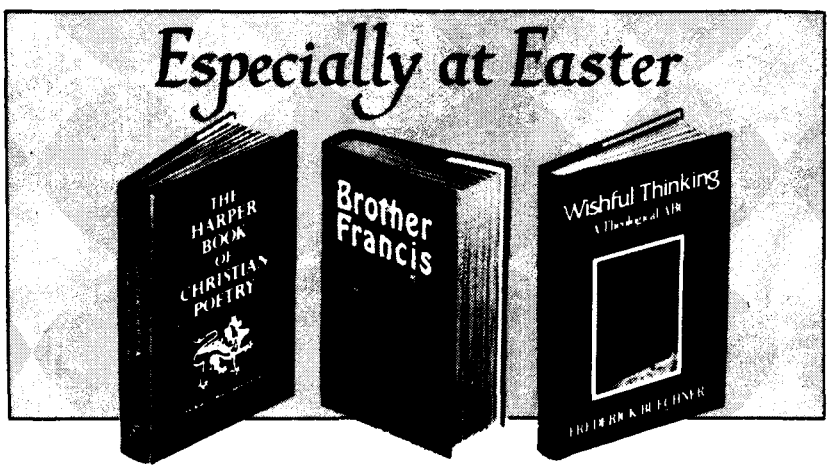
ticed by the media, and we can hear on every evening newscast how some new group of afflicted Americans has been given the cold shoulder by their government.

It is too bad, in a sense, that this book had to be a book at all. The information assembled by the authors would have made a wonderful series of newspaper articles or TV news shows, but, alas, it was not to be. The authors do not discuss this issue directly, but *The Star-Spangled Hustle* demonstrates, among other things, the shoddy manner in which the media cover the activities of the government. Books like this rarely sell enough copies to have any impact, but they are often the only way in which certain kinds of information can be presented to the public. It is no reflection on the quality of the book to say that its contents ought to be available to a wider audience at 15¢ rather than $7.95.

The Star-Spangled Hustle is the story of Richard Nixon's plan to fight poverty by bringing "minority entrepreneurs" into the business community. ("Black capitalism," he had announced during the '68 campaign, would give minorities "a piece of the action.") Even if the President had been sincere in his intentions, such a program would have had many serious drawbacks. As the authors point out, the dream of owning a small business is one of the most fatal temptations in American life: 80% of them fail within the first few years, and virtually none of them ever make much money for their hapless owners. But of course the President was *not* sincere in his intentions (when was he ever?). In order to make that fact perfectly clear, he appointed Maurice Stans to head the Commerce Department and the Black Capitalism effort.

Maurice Stans is a man about whom there is almost nothing good to say. Naturally, he had had no experience in dealing with minority groups, and not much more experience in management. His sensitivity to racial problems is suggested by his plan to fund a chain of shoeshine outlets called "Shine Boy," and by his instructions to staff members not to hire "too many blacks" to work in the office. Stans, on direct orders from the President, was committed to spending as little money as possible on black businesses. He and his co-workers in the Commerce Department, along with their contacts at the White House, all saw the program as a public relations device to persuade the media that the Nixon Administration had a "new approach" to the problems of poverty and urban decay. At no time was there any intention to fund a large number of minority-owned businesses. "Use all the rhetoric," the



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President had told them, "so long as it doesn't cost money."

There is a growing trend among social scientists and political journalists (Daniel Moynihan is a good example) toward the belief that the "private sector" is a more reliable source of initiative in policy-making than the government. That theory receives a good deal of well-deserved abuse in these pages. As part of his emphasis on "voluntarism" Nixon attempted to enlist business leaders in the Black Capitalism program, but very quickly discovered that few of them had any interest in the program. Since there were no volunteers, the President had to use the full prestige of his office (among other forms of pressure) in order to put together an Advisory Council on Minority Enterprise. ("I am not really interested," one of the executives said, "but if the President really wants me to do it, I'll do it.")

The Advisory Council eventually dragooned a number of important executives — among them James Roche, Chairman of the Board of General Motors; Arthur Wood, President of Sears, Roebuck and Co.; Donald Naughton, President of the Prudential Life Insurance Co.; and Donald Graham, Chairman of the Board of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co.— who were to use their expertise and their considerable influence to aid minority businesses. These men were, however, never committed to the program, and only came in at all when they were told that their participation would help the Republican party. Throughout the short life of the Black Capitalism program, the "private sector" remained blithely indifferent to its goals, and, indeed, to the problem of poverty in general. By 1971, corporations were unwilling to lend even token support to the program, using, as an excuse, the unfavorable business climate of that year.

There is nothing cheerful in the story this book tells, and nothing hopeful in its conclusion. The Nixon Administration has written off the black community, refuses even to discuss the subject of race relations, and has no interest in combating poverty. The policies of the first Nixon Administration continue at an accelerated pace in the second; now, even veterans of the Vietnam war are feeling the last of Nixon's "let them eat cheese" austerity program. The United States is saddled with one of the most truly despicable regimes in its history, and our only consolation is that there are, as of this writing, only 1,148 days left until we really won't have Richard Nixon to kick around any more. Some of us, unfortunately, aren't going to make it.

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IN BRIEF

THE OGRE *by Michel Tournier, Doubleday, $7.95.* At midpoint this book becomes unputdownable; before that one has to swim against a great tide of French metaphysical introspection, and the only thing that kept this reader from going under was Janet Flanner's absolute statement quoted on the back flap: *The Ogre* is "the most important book to come out of France since Proust." Better, that means, than one's favorite work by Colette, Giraudoux, Camus, Claudel, Sartre, Mauriac, Céline, Montherlant—so perhaps it is wise to judge a book occasionally by its cover rather than its first hundred and fifty pages.

The ogre—or Erl-King, as the book is more legitimately titled in the original French and also the British edition—is a Parisian garage owner, Abel Tiffauges. From his school days under the tutelage of a bizarre youth, Nestor, who dies by fire, he has been obsessed with interpreting signs of his "phoric" vocation—that is, from St. Christopher, a bearer. Events of the Second World War lead him to a prisoner-of-war camp and ultimately to Rominten, the palatial 60,000-acre hunting estate of Field Marshal Goering; and in Tournier's vivid portrait of East Prussia—Teutonic heraldry, landscape, Reich officers, genetic selection of youth, king stags who roam the great forests—he demonstrates that to be sure he has no equal in contemporary French letters. The final interpretation of Abel's destiny—although malign inversion or a reversal of signs; in heraldry left is right and right is left—and the vindicating crescendo of symbols at the end of the book are nothing less than stunning, and evidence of a literary imagination of the highest order.

JOHN HEIDENRY

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 147)

mitted token radical, he should know that he has been co-opted by an institution that knows that a little change prevents a lot of change. Secondly, I wonder why McFerran is surprised that confrontation doesn't work in an unreal situation. Alinsky and Chavez tactics are for real situations where real power is at stake. Thirdly, why does McFerran insist on white conversion? Alinsky never wanted to convert anyone. He just wanted concessions from the rich and the right to become middle-class and corrupt for the poor. Chavez calls for conversion but it is the conversion of both sides. No one needs to tell Chavez how quickly the movement would collapse if only the white rich were supposed to convert. McFerran is

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right: "The trick is to make confrontation pay off—as in the styles of Saul Alinsky and Cesar Chavez." But he is wrong, it seems to me, to insist that his class or any class is even a "trivial participation in the total experience of another group." His class was only a trivial participation in a *tiny* part of the experience of another group . . . no more no less.

HALBERT WEIDNER

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Michael Novak (Cont.)

it is a project we should perhaps revise. Is it explorer or emigrant?

For a time "radical Catholicism" gave promise of providing a better and more fruitful model, because it would, on the one hand, deepen our Catholicism and, on the other hand, serve as a means of criticizing the superculture of the enlightened and the affluent. Instead, radical Catholicism seems to have become preoccupied with authority and rebellion, doctrinaire in its politics and instrumentalist in its theology, sectarian in its sense of evil and in its forms of righteous protest. It seems to be an instrument of that part of the enlightened and affluent class whose main strength lies in the media and the universities. It is a carrier of deep resentment against the vast body of ordinary Catholics.

Thus "radical Catholicism" serves neither to deepen the life of the Catholic community, nor to criticize the biases, powers, or interests of the enlightened and the affluent. It is an instrument of Americanization. Its form of piety and its insights would be unexceptional to Unitarians; it is in some ways a "Protestantizing" rather than a "Catholic" movement.

For it has lost the substance of Catholic realism and reluctant moral witness. The witness Becket and More had to be forced to make, after seeking every possible avenue of avoidance, Catholic radicals seek all too avidly. Of the strong sense of social texture and organic law to which More gave witness they seem innocent. The evil so pervasive in every aspect of human life they localize in one government. The catechism of pop marxism governs the movement's political perception.

Gabriel Almond in a study of the foreign policy implications of public opinion from 1946 to 1949 wrote in 1950: "The American foreign policy mood is permissive, it will follow the lead of the policy elites if they demonstrate unity and resolution. The decline of isolationism has widened the scope of discretion of the policy and opinion elite. The problem of contemporary policy is not so much one of mass traditions and resistances as it is one of resolution, courage, and the intelligence of leadership."

The "policy and opinion elite" has written quite some record since 1950. That liberal Catholicism or radical Catholicism should now be in the service of these same elites—now ready for *new* slogans—is an irony too painful to contemplate.

A Harsh and Dreadful Love

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement

William D. Miller

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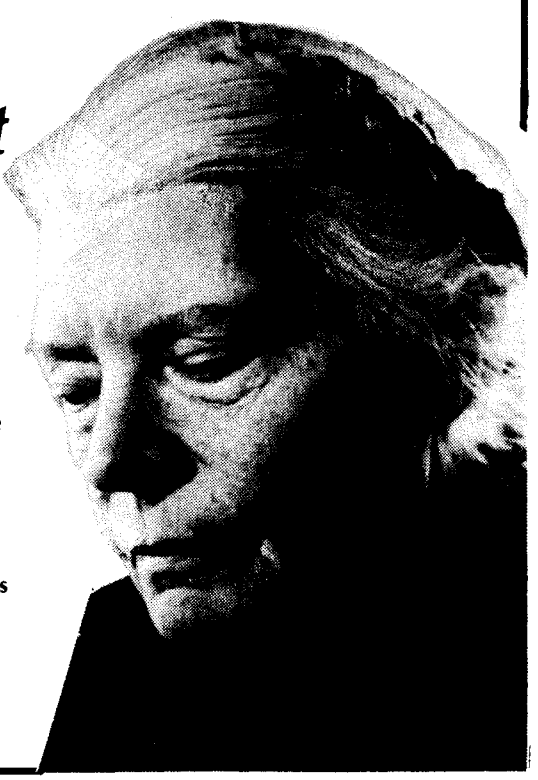

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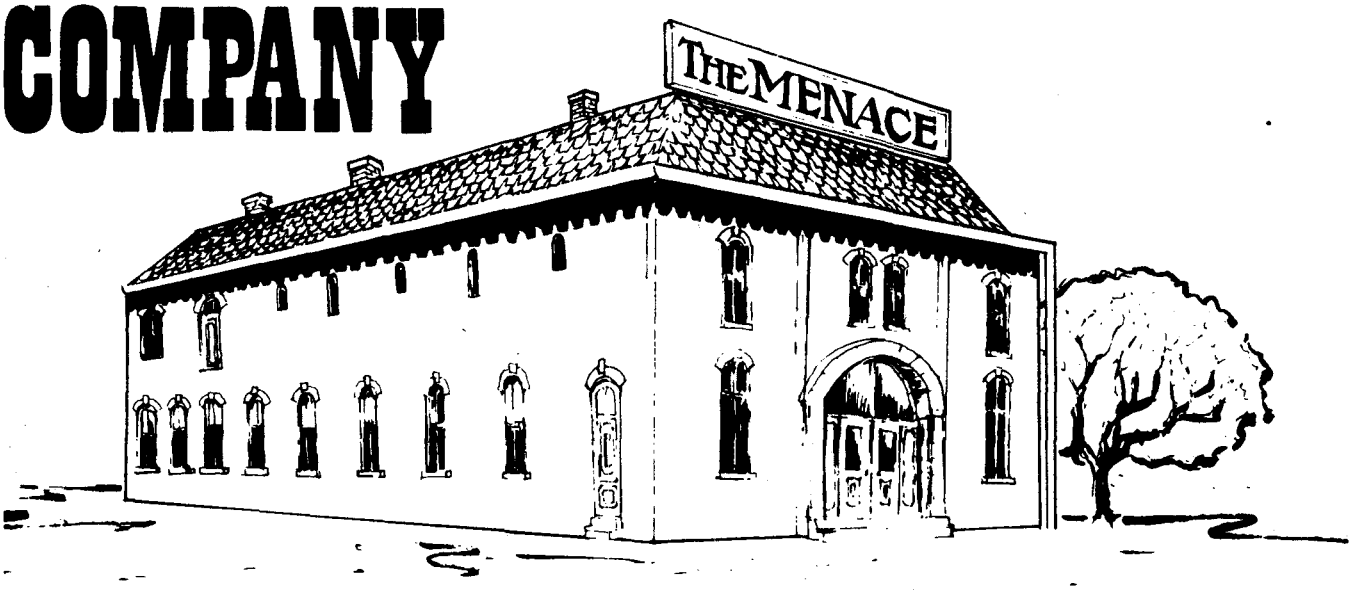

APART

The company was The Menace publishing house. About 60 years ago it put out a hate-paper of the same name.

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